62D CONGRESS, 2d Session. } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { REPORT. No. 606.

INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

APRIL 26, 1912.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. JONES, from the Committee on Insular Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT.

[To accompany H. R. 22143.]

The Committee on Insular Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 22143) entitled "A bill to establish a qualified independent government for the Philippines and to fix the date when such qualified independence shall become absolute and complete, and for other purposes," beg leave to report that they have had the same under consideration and recommend that the said bill do pass with the following amendments, to wit:

Insert the words "and maintained" after the word "established," in line 17 on page 2 of the bill.

Strike out the word "such" after the word "around," in line 10 on page 4 of the bill, and insert in lieu thereof the words "any and all."

Strike out the period after the word "Philippines," in line 13 on page 4 of the bill, and insert in lieu thereof a comma and add the words "and shall further guarantee that all property rights by whomsoever legally acquired shall be held inviolate."

Strike out the word "nineteen" after the word "April," in line 19 on page 4 of the bill, and insert in lieu thereof the word "eighteen."

Strike out the words "thirty-nine" after the words "composed of" in line 19, on page 5 of the bill, and insert in lieu thereof the words "thirty-eight."

Insert the word "and" after the word "Mindoro" in line 3, on page 6 of the bill.

Strike out all of the paragraph after the word "law" in line 5, on page 12 of the bill, and insert in lieu thereof the words:

Provided, however, That from and after the fourth day of July, nineteen hundred and thirteen, for a period of eight years, all public acts of the government of the Philippines shall be transmitted, as soon as practicable after their enactment, to the President of the United States, who shall have the absolute veto power over the same, such veto power to be exercised, if at all, within thirty days after the reception by him of such act. If he approve or fail to veto such act, the same shall be transmitted

to the Congress of the United States. The Congress of the United States during said eight years' period may annul any bill passed by the Congress of the Philippines at any time after it may have gone into effect.

Strike out after the word "was" in line 10, on page 13 of the bill, the remainder of the paragraph, and insert in lieu thereof the word "sent."

Strike out the words "temporary or probationary" after the word "the" in line 8, on page 26, and the words "for the ensuing eight years" after the word "established" in line 9, on page 26, of the bill.

Before proceeding to outline the purposes, or to discuss the various features and different provisions of this bill, it may be well to indicate briefly, and in general terms, the character of the instruments of government employed in the administration of the affairs of the people of the Philippine Islands during the 13 years that have elapsed since the ratifications of the treaty of peace between the Kingdom of Spain and the United States were exchanged at the city of Washington. This exchange, which took place on the 11th day of April, 1899, constituted the consummating act in the negotiations which resulted in the reestablishment of peace between these two nations, and the transfer of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands from Spain to the United States. From this time on and up to the 1st day of September, 1900, the commander of the American Army of occupation in the Philippine Islands, acting as military governor, exercised complete and undivided authority, legislative as well as executive, throughout the Philippine Archipelago. In other words, it may be said that during this period the government of the Philippine islands was essentially a military autocracy.

In an official communication, bearing date the 7th day of April, 1900, the President of the United States informed the Secretary of War of the appointment by him of a commission to the Philippine Islands, composed of five eminent Americans, namely, the Hon. William H. Taft, Prof. Dean C. Worcester, Hon. Luke I. Wright, Hon. Henry C. Ide, and Prof. Bernard Moses, of which Mr. Taft was to be the president. This Executive order set forth with some particularity the powers and duties conferred upon this commission, and transferred, on and after the 1st day of September, 1900, from the military governor to this new governing body, of at least doubtful constitutionality, "that part of the government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature."

By a subsequent Executive order, bearing date June 21, 1901, the Hon. William H. Taft, the president of the Philippine Commission, was appointed civil governor of the islands and empowered to exercise all executive authority on and after the 4th day of July, 1901. From and after that date the military governor was relieved from the performance of civil duties, except as to those districts in which insurrection against the Government of the United States continued to exist or in which public order was not completely established. Thenceforth and up to the enactment by Congress of the act of July 1, 1902, the Taft Commission, in the meantime increased to eight members by the addition of three Filipinos, exercised all legislative authority in the Philippine Islands, whilst the executive functions of the so-called civil government thus set up by the President, acting in the capacity of Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, were divided between a military commander and a civil governor.

Thus it appears that during the period which elapsed between the time of Spanish evacuation and the enactment by Congress of the act of July 1, 1902, a period of something more than three years, there existed in the Philippine Islands no less than three distinct forms of government differing materially the one from the other. The act of July 1, 1902, although in express terms declared to be merely a temporary measure of civil administration, has, with slight and unimportant amendments, remained the organic law of the Philippines for practically a decade. The bill which your committee has had under consideration not only provides in the near future, and for a definite probationary period of eight years, for a larger participation of the Philippine people in the affairs of their government than they now enjoy; but it will, if enacted into law, confer upon them at the end of that period the absolute control of their affairs, both domestic and foreign, together with their complete and unqualified independence.

THE FILIPINOS DESIRE INDEPENDENCE.

When the existing law was being considered by the Committee on Insular Affairs 10 years ago some of its advocates testified that a majority of the educated and substantial people of the Philippine Islands, whose opinions the Federal Party was said to represent, favored the permanent annexation of the islands to the United States. A prominent Filipino who at one time occupied the position of secretary of state under the Malolos government, of which Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo was the president, but who subsequently, and at that very time, was an officeholder under the Taft Commission, claiming to be the authorized spokesman of the Federal Party, testified at the committee hearings that a majority of all the Filipino people favored American annexation rather than independent self-government.

Whatever influence this testimony may have had in shaping the Philippine legislation of 10 years ago, it should certainly have none in this day and generation, for the Federal Party itself, the only political organization in the Philippine Islands ever favoring permanent annexation, has long since ceased to exist, and its successor, the Progresista Party, is quite as outspoken in its advocacy of independence as is the Nacionalista, which has always stood for an independent self-government. There is, therefore, to-day practically, if not absolutely, no division of sentiment among the civilized, Christian inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago in respect to this question, whatever may have been the case a decade ago. The highest aspiration, the one great, overmastering desire of the Philippine people is to see their country free and independent. The blood shed and the untold privations for years endured for freedom's sake by this, the only Christian people in the vast Orient, abundantly testified in the past to their longing for independence. The unparalleled and phenomenal spread of education throughout the archipelago in recent years, a larger participation in public affairs, a wider and more intimate knowledge of the problems of government, and the valuable experience gained through actual practice in a popular legislative assembly have not only contributed immensely toward preparing the Filipinos for the exercise of self-government, but have at the same time quickened and intensified their desire to become a free and independent people.

NO AMERICAN SENTIMENT FAVORABLE TO PERMANENT RETENTION.

It is doubtful if there is to-day any considerable or even appreciable public sentiment in the United States favorable to the permanent retention of the Philippines. When these islands were first acquired, and for a few years thereafter, there was a more or less prevalent belief that their permanent retention would prove of great commercial advantage to the United States. It is true that during the past two years, those in which Philippine products have had free access to the markets of the United States, the value of the trade between the two countries was materially increased, and yet if every dollar in value of the merchandise imported into the Philippine Islands from the United States during the fiscal year 1911 had been clear profit to the American manufacturer, the sum total would not have equaled the cost to the people of the United States of the maintenance for a single year of our military establishment in the Philippines.

The total value of the importations, exclusive of those for the use of the Army, Navy, and the Government of the Philippine Islands, and for government-aided railroads, all of which were free of duty, was $15,052,808, while the value of the Philippine products exported to the United States during the fiscal year was $16,813,864. Thus it is apparent that the combined values of the exports and imports for the year 1911 do not equal in amount the total annual cost of the Philippine Islands to the American people. So the commercial argument which at one time was vigorously advanced in favor of the permanent retention of the Philippine Islands has now been practically abandoned.

CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Those who oppose fixing a definite time at which the Philippine Islands shall acquire their independence, although professing to favor their ultimate independence, base their opposition upon the assumption that the Filipinos are not as yet capable of governing themselves. They do not hazard even a guess as to when that time may be expected to arrive; in the judgment of most of them it may be a generation, possibly two or three generations. The menace to the peace and happiness of the American people which lies in the indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands is not to be compared, in their judgment, to the harm which they fear may result to the Filipinos if they are prematurely given the independence which they crave, and to which, it is admitted, they will some day be entitled. The grievous financial burdens which their long-continued retention as a colonial dependency will entail upon the American taxpayers is as nothing, they contend, compared to the moral obligations which the United States have assumed. Thus the "moral" or "altruistic" argument, based upon the alleged incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government, is the only argument now heard in favor of the indefinite retention of the Philippines.

But, is it true, according to any just and fair standard, that the Philippine people are not capable of self-government? For, if not true, then the only argument seriously advanced by those who would deny them independence must fall to the ground. The facts, or

alleged facts, relied upon to establish their incapacity for self-government are (*a*) that the Philippine population is made up of many different tribes, inhabiting different islands, or different parts of the same islands, and speaking different dialects or languages; (*b*) that because of this isolation and difference of language they possess no common means of intercommunication; (*c*) that a number of these tribes are uncivilized and unchristianized and will always remain so, and that the Moros, the most savage and adventurous, as well as the most numerous, of the wild tribes, can never be brought to live peaceably under any government which may be established by Christian Filipinos; and, lastly (*d*), that the percentage of illiteracy, even among the Christian inhabitants, is too great to permit of any intelligent administration of government. In fine, it is contended that, wanting in education and civilization and lacking a common religion and a common language, it follows that the Philippine people have not that community of thought, of feeling, and of interest, that national unity and spirit, or that intelligence and educational capacity, essential to the successful establishment and permanent maintenance of a free, autonomous, and stable government.

According to the census of 1903, the population of the Philippine Islands was 7,635,426. Of these, 6,987,686 are classified as civilized. Only 647,740 are described as wild or uncivilized. Of the so-called uncivilized tribes, 277,547 are Moros, who inhabit the southeastern and western portions of the island of Mindanao, which is the southernmost and next to the largest of all the islands, and the islands of the Sulu group; 211,520 are Igorots dwelling in northern Luzon; 56,189 are Bukidnon, of the Province of Agusan, in eastern Mindanao and the remainder are scattered in small groups throughout the islands. These official figures indisputably prove that the vast majority of the Philippine people are civilized, and many of the most beautiful cathedrals to be found anywhere in the world, as well as other substantial and costly church edifices scattered throughout the civilized portions of the islands, attest most strongly to the deep religious character of the Filipinos.

But even were it admitted that the Moros are intractable and incapable of civilization, the census figures show that they constitute less than 4 per cent—or, to be exact, just 3.7 per cent—of the whole population of the islands. Indeed, these figures show that they are actually outnumbered by the civilized Filipinos of Mindanao, notwithstanding that 226,158 of the 277,547 Moros (2,323 of whom are themselves civilized) dwell in that island. It is a fact not generally appreciated, if known, that 296,845 Christian Filipinos also inhabit the island of Mindanao. In Zamboanga, in the Moro Province, one of the most delightful of the cities of the Philippine Archipelago and the fourth in commercial importance, there were 44,322 inhabitants in the year 1903, almost equally divided between Christians and non-Christians. These facts conclusively prove that the Moros may well be regarded as a negligible quantity in considering the question of the capacity of the Philippine people for self-government. But the work of education and civilization is progressing even among the Moros, with far better results than any of the historians and writers upon this subject of a decade ago believed to be possible.

The remainder of the wild tribes are so widely distributed throughout the archipelago, and have in the past given so little trouble to

their civilized neighbors, that their government has never been looked upon as a serious problem—they must continue in a large degree the wards of the nation whatever may be the form of government under which they live. Is it then unreasonable, in view of the foregoing facts, to indulge the hope that these wild people, all of whom are of Malayan origin, would more readily submit to the restraints of a government participated in by them, and established for their protection by members of their own race, than to those imposed by an alien people? Do the facts hereinbefore set forth justify the belief that the government of the wild men of the Philippine Islands will ever become to the Filipinos, if given their independence, so difficult a problem as has been that of the American Indians to the Government of the United States?

It is true, of course, that the Philippine Archipelago is composed of many islands, and that there is no native language which is universally spoken. A large majority of the whole people, however, speak either Tagalog, Visayan, or Ilocano, which are the three principal languages of the islands. Nearly half of the Christian population or 3,219,030, are Visayans, and there are 1,460,695 Tagalogs in the island of Luzon, to say nothing of the members of other tribes who to the number of 2,000,000 speak Tagalog. For 300 years the official language of the Philippines has been Spanish, and whilst the percentage of the rural population speaking it was never very large, it was, nevertheless, spoken throughout the archipelago by the educated and office-holding classes and is quite universally spoken in Manila and other cities and large towns.

There has been a noticeable disposition in some quarters to create the impression that the Filipinos are an ignorant and illiterate people. This was very far from the truth, even prior to American advent. To demonstrate this it is only necessary to advert to a few salient facts bearing upon the subject of education during the long years of Spanish control. The University of St. Joseph was founded by the Jesuits in Manila very nearly 325 years ago, and 17 years before the doors of the first American college were opened the Dominican Order of the Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands established, also in Manila, the University of St. Thomas, which for more than three centuries has been in successful operation. And yet the Tagalogs had attained a well-defined civilization long before the advent of either the Dutch or the Spanish. Prior to the year 1863 there were parochial schools throughout the islands, but it was not until that year that primary schools were established, under the royal decree of December 20, in every municipality of the archipelago. In addition to the many private and church schools which had long been in existence prior to 1866 Spanish school statistics for that year show that there had then been established 1,674 Government-supported schools, attended by 230,358 Filipino boys and girls. There were that year 1,681 matriculates at the University of St. Thomas engaged in the study of the higher branches of learning. There were also located in Manila prior to the revolution against Spain five colleges devoted to the education of women, among them the College of Santa Isabel; a college of agriculture; a nautical school; a superior school of painting, sculpture, and engraving; a military academy; and a number of other colleges of more or less importance, where the higher branches were taught. There were, too, as many as 9 other colleges and 67 high-grade Latin

schools located in various sections of the islands. A people enjoying such superior educational advantages as these can scarcely be characterized as ignorant and illiterate. Especially can it not be said of the Tagalogs, who for ages have possessed a rich literature of their own. Even in the outlying Christian settlements of northern Luzon a majority of the population could read and write their own language long before the power of Spain over the islands was broken.

It will scarcely be denied that since American occupation immense progress has been made in the direction of education. Not only have thousands of public schools been established all over the archipelago, but the standards of most of the old ones have been raised. In all of the new, and in many of the old, English is employed and taught, and the natives are evincing a praiseworthy desire to become proficient in it. Many night schools have been established for the benefit of the laboring classes, and they, as well as the higher schools, are all well attended. For nearly 10 years the average public-school enrollment has not been less than 500,000. The report of the secretary of education for the year ending June 30, 1911, shows that the enrollment for that school year reached the high-water mark of 610,493, not including 5,302 pupils enrolled in the schools of the Moro Province. The total number of public schools in operation last year, according to this report, was 4,404, and the total number of teachers employed at the end of the school year was 9,086, of whom 8,403, or over 92 per cent, were Filipinos. It is shown, too, that there was a general improvement on the part of the Filipino teachers during the year, both in scholastic attainments and in ability to teach. A splendidly equipped normal school was established in 1901 and reorganized in 1909.

This institution is annually training hundreds of young men and women to teach under the conditions which exist in all Provinces of the islands, civilized or uncivilized. The first Philippine Legislature provided for the establishment of the University of the Philippines, which was organized something over two years ago. It provides advanced instruction in literature, philosophy, and the sciences and arts, and affords professional and technical training for students who have passed through other colleges. The total registration of students at this institution of higher learning in August of last year was 1,220. All the lectures, of course, are in English and many of the learned professors are Filipinos. The late James A. Le Roy, who, for two years was connected with the Philippine Commission, and who, therefore, possessed exceptional opportunities for securing information upon the subject, says in his admirable book on the Philippines, published in 1905, that "approximately one-half the Christian population over 10 years of age is literate," and that this included "the people of the most backward and outlying Christian settlements in the mountains of north central Luzon, in unsettled islands like Mindoro and Palawan, and on the outskirts of Mindanao." In the Tagalog Provinces, where the percentage of literacy is highest, it is stated by this author that the number able to read "is something over 70 per cent of the population above 10 years of age." This was seven years ago, and before the American system of education was fairly underway; before there were thousands of trained Filipino teachers conducting the schools in the English language. So much for the literacy of the Filipinos.

The Hon. Newton W. Gilbert, secretary of public instruction in the Philippine Islands, at one time a Member of the House of Representatives and of this committee, makes the striking statement in his annual report for the year 1910 that "more persons in the Philippine Islands speak and write the English language than speak and write any other language or dialect. If this were true in 1910, how much larger will be the proportion of those who speak and write English in 1921? But there is more recent and much stronger testimony than this in refutation of the oft-repeated assertion that the Filipinos possess no common language and therefore are lacking in the means of communication among themselves. In a carefully prepared article in the American Year Book for 1911 it is stated that more Filipinos speak the English language than speak any other one language or dialect. This is to say, that more than one-half of the Christian inhabitants, who constitute more than nine-tenths of the total population of the Philippine Islands, have acquired the ability to speak the English language in the short space of 10 years. If this great progress has been made by the Filipinos within the last decade in the acquisition of the English language, what may not be expected of this wonderful people within the next 10 years? English-taught schools are rapidly multiplying all over the islands, and progression along all lines of education will be much more rapid in the coming than it was in the last decade. In view of the past advancement of the Philippine people in this direction, is it unreasonable to believe that when the 4th day of July, 1921, arrives English will be the common language of the Philippine Islands, and that it will afford the Philippine people that medium of communication deemed so essential to their fitness for independent existence and self-government?

Among other arguments advanced against granting the Filipinos independence is their alleged lack of homogeneity. The truth is they are more homogeneous than the people of the United States. The Director of the Philippine Census, Gen. J. P. Sanger, United States Army, says in his chapter on Population:

> As compared with the schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, those of the Philippine Census are somewhat simpler, the difference being due mainly to the more homogeneous character of the population of the Philippine Islands.

FILIPINO EXPERIENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

The Filipinos are not so lacking in administrative ability and in actual experience in government as has been frequently represented. There were Philippine deputies in the Spanish Cortes during portions of the first half of the nineteenth century, and in the year 1820 seventeen Filipinos sat in the Spanish Parliament. The Philippine constitution, written by Apolinario Mabini, and proclaimed by the Malolos Government in 1899, is justly regarded as a notable intellectual achievement. Among those who represented the Philippine Republic, established by Gen. Aguinaldo in 1908, in the Malolos Congress were many Filipinos of learning, great ability, and unquestioned patriotism. A number of these have held, and others are still holding, positions of trust and responsibility under the present Government. Two of its members have since been commissioned to repre-

sent the Philippine Islands in the capacity of Resident Commissioners to the United States, and one of them is to-day occupying a seat on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Dr. Schurman, the distinguished president of Cornell University, who was a member of the first Philippine Commission, and therefore qualified to speak upon the subject, wrote of the Filipinos 10 years ago:

> But whatever be done with them (the Mohammedans) the civilized and Christianized democracy of Luzon and the Visayans desire independence. They are fairly entitled to it, and united as they now are, I think they might very soon be intrusted with it. In their educated men, as thorough gentlemen as one meets in Europe or America, this democracy of 6,500,000 Christians has its foreordained leaders.

That there are many highly educated and thoroughly cultured Filipinos has not been, and will not be, seriously questioned. There are many who, having received their educations at the best schools and universities of Europe, have returned to the Philippines, and are prominent in the professional and educational life of the islands. Some of these have achieved much distinction. Of the seven members of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, three are Filipinos, the Hon. Cayeteno Arellano being the chief justice. The attorney general is the Hon. Ignacio Villamor, a Filipino. Of the Philippine Commission, five of its members are Americans and four Filipinos. There are four executive departments of the insular Government, one of which, finance and justice, is presided over by Secretary Gregario Arenata. The director of labor, the Hon. Manuel Tino, is a Filipino. The codification committee is composed of three Americans and three Filipino lawyers, the chairman of which is the Hon. Manuel Araullo.

Of the 29 judges of the courts of first instance 14 are Filipinos, and practically all of the judges of the lower courts are Filipinos. The provincial boards of the Provinces are composed of a governor, a treasurer and a "third member." The governors and "third members" of the organized Provinces, with the single exception of Batanes, where the governor is appointive, are all elected by the people, and are, in every instance, Filipinos. Eleven of the treasurers are Filipinos. The fiscals, or prosecuting attorneys, although appointive, are in the main, if not invariably, Filipinos. On June 30, 1911, over 70 per cent of all the provincial officials in the Philippine Islands were Filipinos, and out of the more than 12,500 municipal and township officers, to quote from the last annual report of the executive secretary, "there are really but three American municipal officers in the self-governing municipalities and two of these were elected by popular vote."

No reference to Filipinos whose public services entitle them to a place in the history of their country, past or present, would be complete which omitted the name of the patriot, Rizal, whose glorious martyrdom stirred the hearts of Christendom and precipitated a revolution against Spain. Dr. José Rizal, by reason of his brilliant attainments and his sublime devotion to the cause of his suffering countrymen, was easily the foremost product of the Philippine people. The anniversary of the execution of this young martyr, December 30, 1896, has been made a national holiday, and throughout the Philippines his memory is universally revered.

THE RETENTION OF THE PHILIPPINES REPUGNANT TO REPUBLICAN IDEALS AND DISASTROUS TO AMERICAN INTERESTS.

In considering the question of Philippine independence, as proposed in this bill, and in reaching the conclusions to which we have come, your committee have not by any means regarded it solely from the standpoint of the people of the Philippine Islands. On the contrary, our views are largely, if not mainly, controlled by what are believed to be the true interests of the people of the United States. The free principles upon which the American Government is founded are wholly incompatible with the idea of holding and governing against their consent any people who aspire to independence and are capaple of governing themselves. Moreover, the policy of the United States has always been against expansion beyond the seas. Such expansion as has marked the marvelous growth and progress of the United States has until very recently been over land and confined to this continent. It has embraced contiguous territory inhabited by a homogeneous people, and never land in another hemisphere, separated from us by thousands of miles of water and inhabited by an alien people differing from us in manners, customs, civilization, and race. The incidents which led up to the War with Spain had not the remotest connection with the Philippines. It was not a war of conquest. It was a war waged to free from intolerable oppression a people almost within sight of our shores and not one to bring under the dominion of the United States a people struggling for their liberties and residing upon the opposite side of the globe. The Spanish-American War was fought to free Cuba and not to enslave the Philippines; to erect a republic in the Occident, not to establish a subject colony in the Orient. From the very beginning the Filipinos never welcomed American sovereignty. They accepted it only when unable longer to resist the superior strength of the United States. The late President McKinley declared in a speech delivered in the city of Chicago that "the War with Spain was undertaken, not that the United States should increase its territory, but that oppression at our very doors should be stopped." He added, "This noble sentiment must continue to animate us and we must give to the world the full demonstration of the sincerity of our purpose." To carry "this noble sentiment" into effect is the object of this bill, and, in the opinion of this committee, it is so framed as to accomplish the purpose with honor to the American people and with just and proper regard for the future welfare and the best interests of the Filipinos.

Secondary only in importance to the high moral questions of principle and right involved in the indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands is that of their constant menace to the peace and well-being of the American people. Instead of constituting a source of strength to the United States in the event of war with a first-class naval power, they would, by reason of their geographical position, become one of great weakness. Had not the Spanish army and navy been so fully occupied with the war in Cuba the story of Dewey's engagement in Manila Bay might have been one of far different import. To fortify and defend all the principal ports of the Philippine Islands would require more money, ships, armies, munitions of war, and supplies than even a country possessing the enormous

resources of the United States could command, and if, therefore, the purpose in holding the Philippines is merely to maintain in the Orient a base for military and naval operations, then that purpose can much more readily, and more effectively, be accomplished by retaining only the naval bases, harborage waters, and coaling stations provided for in the measure under consideration.

As to whether or not the United States could successfully defend the Philippine Islands against a first-class naval power, that is a question about which there may be honest differences of opinion. That their defense, whether ultimately successful or not, would involve the sacrifice of tens of thousands of American lives and the expenditure of vast sums of money does not admit of two opinions. That it would mean the destruction of American commerce on the high seas and the prostration of all legitimate American enterprise and business during the continuance of the war will hardly be denied. It has recently developed, however, that it is the opinion of our military experts that it would not be expedient, in the event of war with any strong naval power, for the United States to attempt to defend the Philippines.

The policy of the United States in such an event will be, we are told, to abandon the islands, and, for the time being at least, to leave them to their fate. If this is to be accepted as the policy and purpose of the United States, then it is difficult to understand of what advantage the fortification of the islands, or any one of them, can possibly be to this country in case of a foreign war. On the contrary, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to discontinue at once the expenditure of the vast sums which Congress is annually asked to appropriate for the fortification of the islands, and the maintenance there of a large body of troops. Whether in the event of war our troops are voluntarily withdrawn as a wise strategic or precautionary measure, or they are driven out or captured by a superior hostile force, the result will be the same. The fortifications which have been constructed, and those now in course of construction, will fall into the hands of the enemy, and will render more difficult the ultimate recovery of the islands should any attempt be made in that direction. If, therefore, the opinion expressed by the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs is shared by other military authorities, and there is little room for doubt as to this, then a decent regard for national pride, if no higher consideration, would seem to dictate that the sooner we withdraw from the Philippine Islands, and relinquish sovereignty over them, the better it will be for the people of the United States.

THE COST OF MAINTAINING AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Estimates vary widely as to the cost to the United States of maintaining American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. It will never be possible to compute with any degree of accuracy what the total cost has been from the date of American advent up to the present time. The late Senator Hoar declared more than 10 years ago that the United States had expended up to that time the enormous sum of $600,000,000, and his figures have never been successfully challenged. Within the past 10 years the United States have expended many millions in the islands for strictly military purposes.

More than $10,000,000 have been expended within that period in the construction and equipment of fortifications alone.

The mean number of troops maintained by the United States in the Philippines during the fiscal year 1911 was 17,370, of whom 12,277 were Americans and 5,093 natives. It is estimated that it costs the Government $1,500 annually to maintain each soldier in the foreign service. Computed upon this basis the cost alone of maintaining the military forces in the Philippine Islands last year was over $26,000,000. It would be difficult to even estimate what part of the naval expenses of the United States should properly be chargeable to this account. It is probably safe to affirm that the sum which would be annually saved, under the conditions of peace and tranquillity which now prevail, were the United States to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, would not fall much short, if any, of $50,000,000.

The foregoing constitutes in a measure the grounds upon which your committee base their conclusion that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands can be safely intrusted with their independence, and that the withdrawal of American sovereignty over those islands would be mutually advantageous to the Filipinos and the people of the United States.

NEUTRALIZATION.

Fear has been expressed that if granted their independence the Philippines would become the easy prey of some land-grabbing nation, since the Filipinos possess neither a navy nor a standing army with which to defend themselves against foreign aggression. This subject need not be discussed in this report further than to say that a joint resolution has been reported from this committee requesting the President of the United States to open negotiations with such foreign governments as in his judgment should be parties to the compact, including those of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Spain, with a view to securing and safeguarding the independence of the Philippines through an international agreement. It is not believed that efforts to secure such an international agreement would be attended with any great difficulty, since little, if any, responsibility would attach to the signatory powers. The independence provided for in this bill, however, is in no respect contingent upon the successful negotiation of any treaty of neutrality. If, for any reason, failure should attend these neutralization efforts, the Philippine Islands would be in no worse position in this respect than many other countries similarly situated whose independence is not guaranteed by international convention.

Notable among the small countries whose independence, although preserved inviolate for ages, has never been guaranteed by international treaty or otherwise, may be instanced the independent monarchy of Siam. This small Kingdom of southeast Asia resembles in many respects the Philippine Islands. The population of Siam is only a little less than that of the Philippines, and it is divided among a number of tribes who inhabit different portions of the country. The Siamese number 3,000,000, or less than half of the population, whilst the remainder is made up of Laos, Chinese, Malays, Cambodians, Bermese, and many others. There are, too, many small, uncivilized tribes which inhabit the mountainous sections, several of which

possess the characteristics of the Negritos of the Philippine Islands. There are many different dialects spoken in Siam, and yet this non-Christian country, with no standing army, has never fallen a victim to any land-grabbing nation. And although the percentage of illiteracy is far greater in Siam—it being 90 per cent—than in the Philippines, it maintains a stable as well as an independent government.

This brings us to the consideration of the various provisions and different features of the bill.

WHAT THE BILL PROPOSES.

The Philippine Government as it is at present constituted consists of a Governor General, appointed by the President of the United States, and a legislature composed of two houses, the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. The Philippine Commission is composed of nine members, all of whom are appointed by the President of the United States, and four of whom are the heads of the four executive departments of the Government. The assembly is composed of 81 members, all of whom are chosen by the qualified electors of the 31 regularly organized Provinces, the three special Provinces, and the city of Manila.

The general purpose of this bill is to establish in the Philippine Islands a provisional government more liberal and autonomous in character than that created under the provisions of the act of Congress of July 1, 1902, this temporary government to begin on the 4th day of July, 1913, and to continue for the period of eight years thereafter. In other words, there is to be a probationary period of eight years, during which the Filipinos are to be permitted to enjoy a larger measure of popular self-government than they now have. It is further provided that on and after the 4th day of July, 1921, the United States shall relinquish all rights of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and grant to the inhabitants thereof full and complete independence.

CONDITIONS PRECEDENT TO INDEPENDENCE.

The terms and conditions upon which Philippine independence is to be granted are (*a*) that the United States shall retain and exercise the rights of sovereignty over such lands and harborage waters as are actually necessary for naval and coaling stations and convenient terminal points for cables, these lands and harborage waters to be selected by a commission composed of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Navy of the United States; (*b*) that the Government of the Philippines shall assume and carry into effect the treaty obligations of the United States with Spain; (*c*) that the Government of the Philippines shall guarantee that no higher tax shall be levied upon the property or business of citizens of the United States than is levied upon that of citizens of the Philippines, and that no law shall be enacted or agreement entered into whereby the citizens of any other country are given trade advantages over those of the United States; (*d*) and that citizens of the United States shall have freedom of access to and of travel in the Philippines for business and missionary purposes, and that all property rights by whomsoever legally acquired shall be held inviolate.

In making selection of naval and coaling stations and cable terminals it is expressly stipulated that the bay and harbor of Manila shall not be taken. The city of Manila is not only the capital but the very heart of the Philippine Islands, and it obviously would not be just to the Philippine people for the United States to retain the island of Corregidor, which commands the entrance to Manila Bay. There are other deep-water harbors equally as susceptible of fortification and defense, such for instance as Subig Bay, within 60 miles of Manila, which would meet all the requirements of the United States for naval bases and coaling stations. The United States has already expended considerable sums in the fortification of the entrance to Subig Bay, and the immense floating dry dock, *Dewey*, has been located at Olongapo in this bay.

CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The most important changes which this bill makes in the present government are to be found in section 6, which vests the legislative power of the Philippine Islands in a congress of the Philippines, and in those immediately following which define its powers and prescribe the method of the election of its members. This congress is to be composed of a senate and a house of representatives, each of which is to be elective.

The senate is to be composed of 38 members who are to be elected for a term of four years, one from each of the 31 regularly organized Provinces as they are now constituted, one each from the special Provinces of Mindoro and Palawan, one each from the non-Christian Provinces of Moro, Mountain, Agusan, and Nueva Vizcaya, and two from the city of Manila. The small Province of Batanes for the purpose of electing a senator is to be regarded as a part of the Province of Cagayan.

The house of representatives is to be composed of 87 members, elected biennially from the assembly districts as at present constituted, except that the Mountain, Agusan, and Nueva Vizcaya Provinces shall each elect one and the Moro Province three representatives.

Each male citizen 21 years of age or over, who has been a resident of the Philippines for one year and of the municipality in which he shall offer to vote for six months, and who either had held office under Spanish rule, or who owns property to the value of 500 pesos, or pays annual taxes to the amount of 30 pesos or more, or who is able to read and write either Spanish, English, or a native language is declared to be a qualified voter. Senators and representatives must be 25 years of age and able to read and write either Spanish or English.

From the foregoing it will be noted that the chief respects in which the Congress provided for in this bill differs from the present legislature are, first, that both of its branches are elective; second, that the inhabitants of the non-Christian Provinces are given representation in both bodies; and third, that the ability to read and write a native language is made to fulfill the educational test.

A glance at the structure of the Philippine Legislature and a cursory examination of the various and complex functions of the commission make apparent the necessity for radical changes in that body. The commission, as has been shown, is composed of appointive members, of whom one is the chief executive of the Philippine Islands. As a

constituent part of the legislature it participates, together with the assembly, in all legislation relating to the affairs of the general government of the organized Provinces. It is, however, under the law, the sole legislative body for the non-Christian Provinces, and as such assumes the power and authority to appropriate money out of the general funds of the insular treasury for uses in non-Chirstian territory without the assent of the assembly.

The commission, therefore, not only shares with the assembly the power to legislate for the Christian people of the islands, but it exercises the exclusive power of legislating for the non-Christian tribes. It not only expends the revenues raised in the non-Christian Provinces for the exclusive benefit of the inhabitants of those Provinces, but it actually appropriates for their use and benefit such other funds as it may deem necessary out of the insular treasury, funds raised by the legislature. This is a most anomalous condition of affairs, and it is not surprising that it has given rise to much unfavorable comment and been productive of serious friction. In addition to this incongruous mixture of legislative power, four of the members of the commission are heads of executive departments and one is the Governor General. Thus it is seen that all the executive authority in the Philippines is vested in a majority of the commission. The secretary of the interior, under whose department the affairs of the non-Christian tribes are administered, is for all practical purposes their governor and legislature. The elective assembly has no share in the government of the non-Christians and without the concurrence of the commission can not legislate for the Christian population. This is a condition of affairs which, in our opinion, needs to be remedied. Experience in the Philippine Islands, as elsewhere, has shown that there should be a complete separation of the executive and legislative functions of government.

Giving representation to the people of the non-Christian Provinces marks a decided departure from the policy which has heretofore obtained in respect to them. These Provinces will be represented in the Philippine Congress, if this bill becomes law, by four senators and six representatives. This is a fair proportion of the total membership of the two houses according to population, and yet small compared to the whole number of senators and representatives. It must be borne in mind in this connection that there are quite a number of civilized Christians residing in non-Christian Provinces. Especially is this true of the Moro Province, where, as has been shown, about one-half of the population of the city of Zamboango are Christians. Moreover, there are among the Moros themselves, as well as among the Igorots, a considerable number who are classified in the census as civilized. The educational and property qualifications prescribed will, however, unquestionably restrict the electorate of the Moro Province to a greater extent than will be the case in the organized Christian Provinces, but with the spread of education there will be a steady increase in the number of those who can exercise the right of suffrage.

There has been much comment upon and many unfair deductions drawn from the fact that there were only 200,000 votes cast at the last election for assemblymen. The proportions of this vote may be easily accounted for. In the first place many of the electorate were indifferent as to the exercise of their political rights because they felt

that, inasmuch as the assembly would be powerless to accomplish anything without the concurrence of the commission, it would be little more than a moot assembly.

But this comparatively small vote may be mainly accounted for by the fact that the educational test then applied restricted the voting to those who could read and write either the English or the Spanish language. The one respect in which this bill proposes to change the suffrage qualifications of the present law is to permit those who can read and write in any language to vote. It is obvious that this will immensely increase the electorate, and of itself result in a very heavy vote in the future.

The Philippine Assembly has more than justified the faith of those who have steadfastly maintained that the Philippine people are capable of popular self-government. There have now been two legislatures, the inaugural session of the first having been convened on October 16, 1907. The membership of the two assemblies was in the main composed of wise, patriotic, and thoroughly capable legislators. The testimony is all to the effect that the delegates devoted themselves earnestly, assiduously, and patriotically to the performance of their duties and that they showed a marked aptitude for legislative work. No small number of them displayed conspicuous ability. President Taft, who was then Secretary of War, was present at the opening of the first legislature, and in an elaborate report subsequently made by him had this to say of the assembly:

> The assembly has shown a most earnest desire, and its leaders have expressed with the utmost emphasis their intention, to labor for the material prosperity of the Philippines and to encourage the coming of capital and the development of the various plans for the improvement of the agriculture and business of the islands which have commended themselves to those in the past responsible for the government there.

When Mr. Taft wrote his report, the legislature had not been in session sufficiently long to enable him to speak as to the manner in which the assembly actually performed its legislative duties. In an article written by Dr. James Alexander Robertson, reviewing the work of the extraordinary session of the second Philippine Legislature, which appeared in the November, 1910, number of the American Political Science Review, the writer has much to say that is highly commendatory of the assembly, or popular branch, of that body. Dr. Robertson, who is the librarian of the Philippine Library, and who therefore has had exceptional opportunities for observing the assembly at close range, says of it, among other things:

> When one considers the lack of opportunity that the Filipinos have had for representative government, this extraordinary session marks an epoch in the history of the Philippine Islands. This remark is no idle panegyric, but is based on actual contact and conversation with various members of the assembly, as well as attendance at many of the open meetings of the assembly.
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> The assembly just closed was remarkable in several respects—for the discipline exercised by the speaker; for the great earnestness displayed by the representatives in general; for their dignity of bearing; and for their freedom from jingoism; and, outwardly at least, from party passion—outwardly, I say, because considerable party passion and personal feeling did at times creep into committee and secret meetings. In general, it may be said that this assembly, in its quietness and dignity of action, has established a precedent that can be well taken as a form for future sessions.

Among the delegates who have shown high order of ability may be mentioned Señor Sergio Osmeña, the speaker or presiding officer, and Señor Vicente Singson. These two Filipino statesmen, the two most

striking figures in the assembly, are the leaders, respectively, of the Nacionalista and Progresista parties. Of Speaker Osmeña Mr. Taft said in the report hereinbefore referred to:

> He is a young man, not 30, but of great ability, shrewdness, high ideals, and yet very practical in his methods of dealing with men and things. The assembly could have done nothing which indicated its good sense so strongly as the selection of Señor Osmeña as its presiding officer.

There are many who regard Señor Pablo Ocampo, at one time Resident Commissioner to the United States, now a delegate from the city of Manila, as the equal in ability of either Osmeña or Singson. The names of many other delegates possessing superior intelligence and high ideals might be mentioned, such, for instance, as Gregorio Nieva, Jaime C. de Veyra, Alberto Barretto, Thomas G. Del Rosario, Mariano Ponce, and Macario Adriatico, the last named being the representative of the partially organized Province of Mindoro.

A people who have made so manifest their capacity for the performance of the legislative functions of popular government as the Philippine people have done in the past five years, as is shown in the history of the popular branch of the Philippine Legislature, can, it is believed, be safely intrusted with the exercise of full legislative power. There is no good reason for believing that the same discriminating judgment will not be shown in the future by the Philippine people in the election of the upper house of a Philippine Congress as has been demonstrated in the past in the selection of the membership of the present popular assembly.

The first general election for senators and representatives of the Philippine Congress is not to take place until the year 1913, and the bill expressly provides that during the existence of the eight-year provisional government the President of the United States shall have absolute veto power over any bill which it may pass. It further provides that the Congress of the United States may during that period annul any bill passed by the Philippine Congress. Moreover, during this period the President of the Philippines is also given the right to exercise the veto power over all legislation enacted by the Philippine Congress.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE.

The bill provides that the executive power of the Philippines for a period of eight years, commencing on the 4th day of July, 1913, shall be vested in a president to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the consent of the Senate of the United States, who shall hold his office for a term of four years. During this period of eight years the power of the president of the Philippines to make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate of the Philippines, will be subject to the approval of the President and two-thirds of the members of the Senate of the United States. After the 4th day of July, 1921, the president of the Philippines is to be elected by the qualified voters thereof.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES.

In addition to the appointment of secretaries of the departments of the interior, commerce and police, finance and justice and public instruction, as those departments are at present constituted, the

president of the Philippines is authorized to appoint a secretary of state and a secretary of war and navy, except that for the period of eight years succeeding the 4th day of July, 1913, the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, shall appoint the secretary of state. As the duties of the secretary of state will concern the foreign relations of the Philippines, and the exercise thereof might in some way involve the United States during the existence of the provisional government, it was deemed wise that this official should be appointed by the President of the United States during that period.

The sections of the bill to which attention has thus been specifically directed, embrace what are regarded as its most important and far-reaching features. The remaining sections do not involve any radical changes in the existing organic law and relate more or less to matters of detail.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to add that, in the opinion of this committee, if this bill as amended is enacted into law, it will enable the Philippine people to set up a stable and enduring government of their own. The act by which the United States shall forever relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and give to their inhabitants an independent government republican in form will constitute a glorious page in the history of the American Republic.

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62D CONGRESS, 2d Session. } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. { REPT. 606, Part 2.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

APRIL 29, 1912.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. OLMSTED, from the Committee on Insular Affairs, submitted the following as the

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

[To accompany H. R. 22143.]

Whether the acquisition of the Philippine Islands was necessary or unnecessary, wise or unwise, need not now be discussed. Under the treaty with Spain they came into our possession, and we became responsible to the inhabitants thereof and to the world for the maintenance of peace and good order therein and the advancement of prosperity.

The bill (H. R. 22143) providing for Philippine independence would, if enacted into law, increase rather than lessen our responsibility, while lessening our ability to perform our moral and just obligations.

The inhabitants of the Philippine Islands do not constitute a homogeneous people. They are composed of many different tribes, some styled as civilized and some admittedly wholly wild. There are some 15 or 20 different languages or dialects spoken in the islands. In many instances those who speak one dialect can not speak or understand any other. Only about 10 per cent of all the people can read and write in any language or dialect, and less than 3 per cent possess what we would call a fair common-school education. Of the entire 8,000,000, less than 2½ per cent, or about 200,000, have been found qualified to vote under existing laws. A few of these, chiefly among the Tagalogs, are very well educated. A smaller number are ambitious to govern, and they have no difficulty in stirring up a very considerable popular sentiment in favor of entire independence. There are, on the other hand, many who privately, if not publicly, look with fear and disfavor upon such a prospect. Spain was not able, with all her power, to maintain decent government, and turned the islands over to us in a very disordered condition. It required some time, no small expenditure of money, and, unhappily, some sacrifice of human life, to restore order; but it was finally restored.

Under American rule order has been brought out of chaos; the people of the islands have enjoyed better government and more of

self-government than ever before. Life, liberty, and property have never been so fully protected as at the present time.

The wild and uncivilized inhabitants of the islands outnumber, three to one, those who would be qualified to vote under the provisions of the pending bill. These uncivilized and wild peoples in the non-Christian Provinces are governed by the Philippine Commission appointed by the President of the United States. They are not within the jurisdiction of the Philippine Assembly, which legislates for the Christian Provinces. They are satisfied to be ruled by the United States, but would fight at the drop of the hat if turned over to the government of those with whom they were at war at the time of the American occupation.

The first governor of the Philippines was William Howard Taft. His administration was eminently successful and he became very popular with the inhabitants. Later, as Secretary of War, he had a certain supervision of their affairs. His long residence there, his subsequent visits, his association with the people of all classes and of all parts of the islands, and his familiarity with the Spanish language, all join to make him the best qualified American to speak upon the subject. In a special message, which, as Secretary of War, he made to President Roosevelt in 1908, he said:

> Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos in their own interest is, I think, most unwise. The key to the whole policy, outlined by President McKinley and adopted by Congress, was that of the education of the masses of the people and the leading them out of the dense ignorance in which they are now, with a view to enabling them intelligently to exercise the force of public opinion without which a popular self-government is impossible.
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> It seems to me reasonable to say that a condition can not be reached until at least one generation shall have been subjected to the process of primary and industrial education, and that when it is considered that the people are divided into groups speaking from 10 to 15 different dialects, and that they must acquire a common medium of communication, and that one of the civilized languages, it is not unreasonable to extend the necessary period beyond a generation. By that time English will be the language of the islands, and we can be reasonably certain that a great majority of those living there will not only speak and read and write English, but will be affected by the knowledge of free institutions, and will be able to understand their rights as members of the community and to seek to enforce them against the pernicious system of caciquism and local bossism, which I have attempted in this report to describe.
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> But it is said that a great majority of the people desire immediate independence. I am not prepared to say that if the real wish of the majority of all the people, men, women, and children, educated and uneducated, were to be obtained, there would not be a very large majority in favor of immediate independence. It would not, however, be an intelligent judgment based on a knowledge of what independence means, of what its responsibilities are, or of what popular government in its essence is. But the mere fact that a majority of all the people are in favor of immediate independence is not a reason why that should be granted, if we assume at all the correctness of the statement, which impartial observers can not but fail to acquiesce in, to wit, that the Filipinos are not now fit for self-government.
>
> The policy of the United States is not to establish an oligarchy, but a popular self-government in the Philippines. * * * The presence of the Americans in the islands is essential to the due development of the lower classes and the preservation of their rights.

And again, in the same report, Secretary Taft said:

> The educated Filipino has an attractive personality. His mind is quick, his sense of humor fine, his artistic sense acute and active; he has a poetic imagination; he is courteous in the highest degree; he is brave; he is generous; his mind has been given by his education a touch of the scholastic logicism; he is a musician; he is oratorical by nature.

The educated Filipino is an aristocrat by Spanish association. He prefers that his children should not be educated at the public schools, and this accounts for the large private schools which the religious orders, and at least one Filipino association, are able to maintain. In arguing that the Philippines are entirely fit for self-government now, a committee of educated Filipinos once filed with the civil governor a written brief, in which it was set forth that the number of "illustrados" in the islands was double that of the offices—central, provincial, and municipal—and therefore the country afforded two "shifts" of persons competent to run the government. This, it was said, made clear the possibility of a good government if independence was granted. The ignorance of the remainder of the people, admitted to be dense, made no difference. I cite this to show of how little importance an intelligent public opinion or an educated constituency is regarded in the community and government, which many of the educated Filipinos look forward to as a result of independence.

In the special message to Congress presenting that report, President Roosevelt said:

I transmit herewith the report of Secretary Taft upon his recent trip to the Philippines. I heartily concur in the recommendations he makes. * * * No great civilized power has ever managed with such wisdom and disinterestedness the affairs of a people committed by the accident of war to its hands. If we had followed the advice of the misguided persons who wished us to turn the islands loose and let them suffer whatever fate might befall them, they would have already passed through a period of complete and bloody chaos, and would now undoubtedly be the possession of some other power which there is every reason to believe would not have done as we have done. * * * Save only our attitude toward Cuba, I question whether there is a brighter page in the annals of international dealing between the strong and the weak than the page which tells us of our doings in the Philippines. I call especial attention to the admirably clear showing made by Secretary Taft of the fact that it would have been equally ruinous if we had yielded to the desires of those who wished us to go faster in the direction of giving the Filipinos self-government, and if we had followed the policy advocated by others, who desired us simply to rule the islands without any thought at all of fitting them for self-government. * * * It will probably be a generation, it may even be longer, before this point is reached; but it is most gratifying that such substantial progress toward this as a goal has already been accomplished. We desire that it be reached at as early a date as possible for the sake of the Filipinos and for our own sake. But improperly to endeavor to hurry the time will probably mean that the goal will not be attained at all.

At a still later period Hon. J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, having made an extended visit to the Philippines, in a special report to the President dated November 23, 1910, spoke of the attempt by politicians, through the press and in other ways, to stimulate a general demand for immediate independence. He said:

While, as stated, these are the only views publicly expressed, I became convinced from reliable evidence that many of the most substantial men, while not openly opposing the demands publicly voiced, would regard such a consummation with consternation. They realize that the Government would fall into the hands of a few who would dominate the masses; that the administration, even without outside interference, could not be successfully carried on; that there would be internal dissensions and probably civil war; and that if the United States did not interfere they would fall an easy prey to some foreign power.

In his last annual message to Congress, President Roosevelt said:

The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation. But it is well for them (and well also for those Americans who, during the past decade, have done so much damage to the Filipinos by agitation for an im-

mediate independence for which they were totally unfit) to remember that self-government depends, and must depend, upon the Filipinos themselves. All we can do is to give them the opportunity to develop the capacity for self-government. If we had followed the advice of the foolish doctrinaires who wished us at any time during the last 10 years to turn the Filipino people adrift, we should have shirked the plainest possible duty and have inflicted a lasting wrong upon the Filipino people. We have acted in exactly the opposite spirit. We have given the Filipinos constitutional government; a government based upon justice; and we have shown that we have governed them for their good and not for our aggrandizement. At the present time, as during the past 10 years, the inexorable logic of fact shows that this government must be supplied by us and not by them. We must be wise and generous; we must help the Filipinos to master the difficult art of self-control, which is simply another name for self-government. But we can not give them self-government save in the sense of governing them so that gradually they may, if they are able, learn to govern themselves. Under the present system of just laws and sympathetic administration, we have every reason to believe that they are gradually acquiring the character which lies at the basis of self-government, and for which, if it be lacking, no system of laws, no paper constitution, will in anywise serve as a substitute. Our people in the Philippines have achieved what may legitimately be called a marvelous success in giving to them a government which marks on the part of those in authority both the necessary understanding of the people and the necessary purpose to serve them disinterestedly and in good faith. I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Filipinos can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power able to guarantee to the islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion. But no one can prophesy the exact date when it will be wise to consider independence as a fixed and definite policy. It would be worse than folly to try to set down such a date in advance, for it must depend upon the way in which the Filipino people themselves develop the power of self-mastery.

The pending bill provides that—

the United States guarantee to the Philippines their independence, and shall protect them against invasion, and, on application of the Congress thereof, against domestic violence for the period of eight years.

The Moro Province is non-Christian and uncivilized, although it has a few intelligent people. They do not consider themselves as Filipinos, and were, when we took the Islands, in a state of war. They are now well satisfied to be governed by the United States, but wholly unwilling to be governed from Manila. When Secretary Dickinson was in that Province in 1910, he visited Zamboanga, where thousands of Moros came in to greet him. The following are the speeches of a few of the Moro spokesmen, as interpreted into both English and Spanish and stenographically reported:

Datu Mandi spoke as follows, his remarks being interpreted in English by Mr. Edward Schuck:

I am here, El Raja Mura Mundi, representing the Moros. Here they are, the whole crowd of them, come to honor the Secretary of War. As I look about I see far more Moros than the Filipino contingent, and if that is so, that is the reason it is called the Moro Province. [Tremendous applause from the Moros.]

When first the Americans came here, from the very beginning, whatever they asked me to do I did. I was loyal to them ever. Now I have heard a rumor that we Moros are in the hands of the Filipinos.

In the Spanish times I was a datu (when the Spanish left this became a republic). Then I saw and found out that things did not go well. When a man had two measures of rice one was taken away from him; when a man had two head of cattle one was taken away from him. [Applause by the Moros.]

If the American Government does not want the Moro Province any more they should give it back to us. It is a Moro Province. It belongs to us. [Tremendous applause by the Moros.]

Datu Sacaluran spoke as follows:

I am an old man. I do not want any Moro trouble. But if it should come to that, that we shall be given over to the Filipinos, I still would fight. [Applause.]

Ulankaya Ujaton said:

I am not a civilized man, but I have learned that slavery, killing, and stealing is a bad thing. We do it no more. But, if that it should be that we shall be given over to another race, we had better all be hanged. [Applause.]

Nadji Nungnui spoke as follows:

I want to tell the Secretary of War that I am a Samal. I come from the Samal race. The Samal race—in former days there was not a worse race than the Samal race; and that was in the olden days. Ever since the Spanish times up to now we have learned different.

The Secretary of War must look the matter in the face. We are a different race; we have a different religion; we are Mohammedans. And if we should be given over to the Filipinos, how much more would they treat us badly, when they treated even the Spanish badly, who were their own mothers and their own fathers in generation? How did they treat them? Think about it! Think twice! We far prefer to be in the hands of the Americans, who are father and mother to us now, than to be turned over to another people. [Applause.]

Secretary Dickinson was also presented with a set of resolutions, setting forth that "The Moro Province is inhabited by many races and different tribes, with differences in religion, customs, and habits, with a varying degree of civilization," and that "We have the best form of government possible under our existing conditions, and we want no changes at the present time."

What would be the condition of the United States to-day if it were under guarantee to protect Mexico from domestic violence as well as against foreign invasion? Can it be doubted that if the Philippines were set adrift the present conditions in Mexico would be calm and peaceful as compared with those which might soon be expected in those islands? The Government of the United States could not, under any circumstances, sit idly by and see those tribes and peoples fighting among each other; nor could it, either before or after the expiration of the eight years' period, permit any other power to make war upon and seize them.

Our cares and responsibilities would be vastly increased by the passage of this bill, while our ability to meet them would be greatly impaired.

The expense to the United States of preserving peace and order under an attempted government by the Filipinos themselves would be greater than under our present control.

There seems to be an impression that the government of the Philippines is imposing a vast financial burden and expense upon the United States. That is far from true.

The government of those islands is now entirely self-supporting and its finances in good condition.

The Philippines do not at present impose any expense upon the United States, except in the excess cost of maintaining a portion of the Army there over what it would cost to keep it at home.

The expense of transportation does, of course, add something to the cost of the Army. On the other hand, the largely increased market afforded by the Philippines for the products of our farms and factories is of a great deal of value to us.

The Philippines are rich and fertile, but their agriculture is of the crudest possible kind. If it were our intention to hold and develop them, they could be made extremely valuable possessions; but, as expressed by Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, it is our policy to help them up to a point where they are fitted for self-government.

It would be a cowardly shirking of our duty, a disgrace to the American people, and an injury to the Filipinos to give them self-government before they are fitted for it.

M. E. OLMSTED.
E. D. CRUMPACKER.
CHARLES E. FULLER.
E. H. HUBBARD.
CHARLES R. DAVIS.
E. A. MORSE.
H. M. TOWNER.

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